THE STATE BEBT-OUGHT IT TO BE OR CAN IT BE REPUBLATED?

Speech of Senator Phlegar, at New-

bern, Pulaski, July 4, 1878. [Reported for the Dispatch.] Gentlemen of Pulaski-Cilizens of

Not for any advantage that I can gain. nor to advance any personal interests, am I bere. When Colonel Fulkerson announced through the newspapers that he would address you to-day, there were gentlemen in new State made as a condition of that concial question discussed in a different light ble for a fair proportion of the debt of Virfrom that in which Colonel Fulkerson is in ginia as it existed January 1, 1861, to be asthe habit of presenting it, and they, for certained in a manner prescribed in the ed me to take part in the discussion. There- this condition, and is clearly liable for way to honest men. There are some who reasons best known to themselves, requestfore, and therefore alone, am I here.

As Colonel Fulkerson has declared that he is not a candidate for office, his record is a matter of small importance to you or to but when Virginia came to execute new me, and I will refer to Colonel Fulkerson's record only so far as his acts or declarations, as a recognized leader of the forcible readjusters, indicate the tendency and in-

tentions of that party. As I am not a candidate before you, and do not intend to be in any future that can now be forecast, my record is of no importance to you, and I shall therefore not at-

tempt to defend it. Colonel Fulkerson has taken some strange grounds to-day. He says he is in favor of the United States Government issuing a much larger amount of greenbacks than are now in circulation-that he is opposed to the coinage of gold and silver because those metals are required for manufactures and arts-that the sole currency or money should be paper, with the Government's stamp upon it and faith to support it. He afterwards tells you that whenever a Government contracts a debt or issues an obligation it is one of the conditions of that obligation that the Government can, when it deems it necessary, refuse to redeem its promise or make good its obligation-that whoever takes the obligation of a Government takes it subject to that condition. Now, put these two propositions together and put them into practice, and what will will be gone—will be converted into mere articles of commerce and ornament—the people will hold perhaps \$1,000,000,000 of than the promise or faith of a Government which it is distinctly announced can be withdrawn and repudiated at pleasure. For this paper you sell your property, your lands, your all, and then the Government exercises its right-avails itself of the alleged condition in the contract-and refuses to receive for taxes or any dues one dollar of this paper; repudiates it, and leaves the people to lose \$1,000,000,000, and without one dollar of valuable or tax-paying currency. What will then be your condition? I say give us money-give us more moneybut give us money based upon silver and the promise to pay to such settlement as orable alike in States and in individuals. gold and the faith and promise of a Gov- shall be made between the States. Until a ernment which cannot, dares not, be broken. Let the people teach their Governments that they must and shall keep faith and redeem promises when made. All persons who have listened to or read

size of the State debt. If the speaker's ideas are at all moderate, and he would be creditor expects nothing-is entitled to no-If he is a little more bloodthirsty, and, like Colonel Fulkerson, wants to cut down to \$15,000,000 or something less, he will vaciliate between \$45,000,000 and \$50,-000,000; but if, like Parson Massey, he has been unable, after seven years' search, to find out whether we owe anything at all, and is not certain that we should pay even \$1,000,000, he must have the amount at least \$53,000,000. The smaller the amount he wants to pay the larger he declares the amount we owe. The reason is apparentthe deeper he wishes to drive you into the mire of repudiation the heavier the rammer of debt he uses; the more he endeavors to make it appear that the debt can neither be paid nor compromised. The man who sees the debt at \$53,000,000 stands aghast and knows he is helpless; the man who sees it at \$40,000,000 is not quite so badly demoralized, while the same man, if convinced that it was \$31,000,000 or \$32,-000,000, would make a fair and determined effort to settle it. It is equally unwise when we are estimating our debt or our difficulties to underestimate them. We should fairly and fully ascertain the extent of our obligations and of our resources; and, like men, not like babies nor like sharpers, meet the issue with courage and honesty, not with whimpering or trickery.

After a most careful examination a committee of the House of Delegates made a report last winter which has never been assailed, and which, in the Barbour-Bocock bill that passed by the combined votes of both forcible and feeble readjusters, was adopted as fixing the amount of the debt. That report fixes the principal debt which

Total debt due others.....:\$33,538,967 71 That is all we owed to others-it is all we are compelled to pay-it is all our debt. 'Tis true the Sinking Fund holds...\$ 5,145,271 90 of bonds, and the Literary Fund.... 1,428,245 25

Making bonds not cancelled...\$ 6,573,517 15 rest on these bonds unpaid.... 1,108,267 90 Interest on these bonds unpaid

which, added to the debt due

makes the\$41,220,752 76 which the gentleman has held up to you as an impassable mountain. But

The distant mountains that uprear Their solid bastions to the skies. Are crossed by pathways that appear As we to higher levels rise." The five millions of Sinking Fund is no

debt; it is really the amount of debt we

have paid. By the funding bill certain officers were appointed commissioners of the Sinking Fund, to whom certain moneys were to be paid, and by them invested in bonds of the State. They were the agents of the

State; received State's money, and with it bought State's bonds. Any man of common sense knows that when his own agent, with his own money, buys his principal's bond, that bond is discharged. The State, instead of cancelling these bonds, left them in the hands of the commissioners and undertook to pay interest on them for the sole purpose of using this interest to purchase other bonds when they were at a discount. The Legislature has a right at any time to direct their destruction, and whether destroyed or not, the State can never be called on to pay them again; they are paid, and what is better, about \$3,122,000 of them have been paid by assets realized since the funding bill. So you see that five millions

same nature. That is a fund set apart by

bat if he earnestly desired to see the State pay all she is bound for? Would he say to lose. that if he was trying to pay the \$29,000,000 We now come to discuss the issue pre-and its interest? Certainly no creditors are sented: Shall we have repudiation or not? of the West Virginia certificates-four cents | tlement : on the dollar, when the old registered stock

is worth thirty-six and coupon bonds fiftynine cents on the dollar-don't say so: certainly the certificates themselves don't say so; certainly the funding bill, mean as it is, don't say so. The facts with reference to in the negative. those certificates are these: When West this county who desired to have the finan- sent that the new State should be responsi-

ing (Virginia) Legislature which gave the ways of settling a debt, consent of this State to the formation of the act. The new State was formed under

bonds or by any act of her Legislature, bonds for her old debts it was manifestly not to her interest, nor was it proper, that she should execute bonds for the whole, as the new assumpsit might be construed as a

tlemen, you know he is not dealing fairly compelled by the laws of self-preservation with you when he blows hot and cold to condemn and punish a betrayal of confi-

judge whether or not there is a promise or debtor and creditor meet-the one has declare that there have been delivered to the ity to relieve himself-he makes to the State bonds amounting to so much money; creditor a fair and true statement of his liathat a certain sum, part thereof, has not bilities and his assets, and asks a reduction been funded; that payment thereof will be of the former. The creditor, satisfied of provided for in accordance with such settle- the propriety of the request, or animated ment as shall hereafter be made with West by self-interest, either accepts a proposition Virginia, in regard to the public debt of made by the debtor or names the terms he ment; and that the State holds the bonds, terms, settle accordingly, and the debtor so far as unfunded, in trust for the holder goes to work and pays the amount agreed of the certificate. The certificate confines on. This is fair, it is right, and it is hon-

you leave a bond with a lawyer and he gives | earnestly as he would turn them from rehis receipt for the same, and specifies that it | pudiation. is for a settlement with your debtor. The must have been struck with the pertinacity with which they attempt to increase the with which they attempt to increase the with which they attempt to increase the labor. made and the money paid him. So here the

> she will, I hope, be willing to pay in accordance with that settlement. We have ascertained the amount of Virginia's debt—principal, \$29,350,826.28; ac-\$17.50—banking capital in this State is not cumulated interest, \$4,188,141.33-Septem- equal to the amount of taxes assessed-net ber 30, 1877. Let us now ascertain definitely what Colonel F. and his party intend the amount of taxes-interest accumu-

> to do with it. What is meant by their lating-Government struggling to keep itfavorite phrase and name, "forcible reself alive—private debts being pressed. When I see all these things I recognize the to increase taxes above present rates; from with our creditors. I have labored for it. proceeds to provide for the expenses of I will labor for it. I believe it can be actions of the State, and to pay the creditors mined that nothing should be done until as interest what may be left, and nothing the canvasses had been made and three sets more, that excess not to exceed six per cent. of officers elected on this issue. It can be on \$15,000,000. That is to say to the credit- made with the consent of the creditors whenors there is half of the debt we will not pay | ever the State promises and prepares herself good this refusal. This, I think, is a fair statement of his position. Now suppose, do—this she ought to do; and when she instead of saying "we will not pay you half," we should say "we will not pay you. any part," what would it be? Could there be any difference of opinion as to the meanany part," what would it be? Could there ing or effect? It would then be called what Governor McNutt, of Mississippi, had the honesty and courage to call it when he urged the same action upon Mississippi in 1841-"repudiation." That is an ugly word. It has been an ugly word since 1841, and the gentleman and those who agree with him take good care to prefer the less expressive name of "forci-ble re Jjusters." Even Colonel F. consissippi repudiated in flush times, when she was wealthy, when she had all ber property and was in the full tide of prosperity; crisis that affects the whole world. Fellowcitizens. Mississippi had better reasons for when wealthy, nor when times were flush, States Bank and of all the banks in the ernment and schools, and it is shutting the Union; it was after the United States Gov- mouths of the forcible readjusters. That's ernment had withdrawn deposits from the banks; it was after the United States Bank

> less; it was when she had borrowed \$5,000, 000 to start the Union Bank of Mississippi which, in less than two years, sunk its entire capital; it was when, says Judge Curtis, paying, and what property we have to pay who wrote in 1844, "in some of the new with. States it was difficult even for the wealthy to obtain money for the daily uses of life. We have heard of farmers owning large and ment of their debts were wanting in some States, for there was no money to be had."

of Pennsylvania had vainly attempted to re-

such were the days in which Mississippi re- ing-places, your towns, and your lands; it pudlated her debt; yet none will dare de has brought you into daily intercourse with fend the action. Again, she repudiated it the capital cities of your nation and your 38 not a burthen to be borne or debt to be for legal reasons. Her Constitution pro- State; it enables you to place your cattle hibited any loan until it had been approved and your grain in market in forty-eight We now come to the \$1,428,245.25 held by the recorded votes of one Legislature, hours, so as to take advantage of by the Literary Fund, and it is much of the then published officially in three newspapers of the State prior to the election of grain to Richmond or brings the goods you our Constitution, which provided that all another Legislature, and then approved by buy from Baltimore or New York for less moneys received for fines, from lands donated that. This loan had been made by the authan you could have them thirty miles. by Congress for public schools, from es-cheated and delinquent lands, and sale of act authorizing it provided that the bonds the country in this single item of freight, public lands, should be set apart and the in-should not be sold below par; yet they terest thereon applied to public free-school were sold below par, and the money squantham all the taxes you pay. Look at the amounts of money—more money than it purposes. That money has been invested dered in reckless speculations that amounts assessed values of your lands and see what can raise as tax-gatherer. Domestic inpurposes. That money has been have the company of the season of the seas public free schools, and whenever the peopublic free schools, and whenever the peopublic free schools, and whenever the people grow the daying it the with their harred of power, their disposiple grow the Constitution and all men agree that it was the states impaired, but of all
the counties off the diligent at the threshing-floor of Aaron; or the
tion to divide the earnings of the diligent at the threshing-floor of Aaron; or the amend the Constitution and cancel the and all men agree that it was repudiation; railroad. This cannot be complained of by and provident among the vile and vicious, Apostle Paul, who so strenuously forbid all the United States, to such an extent that

West Virginia's portion. Would be say ble readjustment is repudiation of the per acre, while the lands of the other coun-

now saving so: certainly the market value Three questions present themselves for set-

1. Is it right? 2. Is it expedient?

3. Have we the power? Unless all three questions can be solved n the affirmative the issue must be decided

Before discussing these three questions Virginia was about being formed-or, as want to fix your attention upon the differ-Governor Wise expresses it, "when that ence between foreible readjustment and a bastard offspring of a political rape" was compromise with the creditors, or read-being brought forth—the act of the Wheel- justment by compromise. There are three

1. Paying it in full. 2. Repudiating it when the debtor can manage to bring the power to his aid that will make good his refusal. 3. Compromising by agreement of debtor

and creditor. The first is certainly the most satisfactory a fair share of the debt. She has assert that it is manly to induce a creditor never yet assumed it by executing by threats of litigation or otherwise to deduct something from a debt which is justly due and which the debtor is able to pay; but this kind of manliness does not pass current among many right-thinking people.

The second plan is illustrated by the man who pleads usury or the statute of limitarelease of the condition imposed on West | tions, or some feednical defect in a contract Virginia. True she had no right as against by which he obtains the judgment of a court the creditor to force him to surrender his in his favor, although the debt was justly old bond and take her new bond for a less due, and full value had been received by amount; but she clearly had a right to make him. This relieves him from the necessity the proposition to do so, and he had a right of paying, but it does not relieve him either to accept. She did make this proposition in the eyes of God or man of the duty of payto give new bonds for two thirds and a ing. Though all mankind should assert that West Virginia certificate for one third, and it is right to avoid the discharge of an honthe creditors were too glad to accept it. est obligation because there is opportunity Colouel F. and his party have built on these or power to do so, it would not make it new bonds as their foundation-stones; with- right; nor could man's conscience be out them they would be without a text for brought to approve it. The God of nature their sermons or a beginning for their who created us implanted a disposition to tax assessed on three hundred dollars' worth speeches; and yet the Colonel says this confide in one another, which is absolutely of land, and until twelve years of age didn't West Virginia part was forcible readjust- necessary to our social existence, and whenment; yet he says it was repudiation. He ever that confidence is violated our natures berates as perjured, bribed-bribers and are shocked, and an act is done that concorruptionists-the legislators who passed science will not approve. Why is the traiand the creditors who accepted the funding | tor despised more than the open enemy? bill, because of the outrageous burthens it Because he has violated confidence. Why was pledged to levy a sufficient tax on her imposed on the State, both in nature and is the adulterous wife hated beyond all amount of the debt, and then says the State others? Because, she has deceived a husbemeaned herself--lost her honor and re- band and violated the confidence reposed pudiated her debt by this same bill. Gen- in her. Society so long as it exists will be

large? This is impossible. But let us see nized and justified by all men; it is often paper currency with no foundation other what these certificates say, and you can a high exhibition of confidence. It is when obligation on the State to pay them: They found himself embarrassed beyond his abil-Virginia existing at time of dismember- will grant. They both agree on the new

> This is a readjustment of the debt to settlement is made the day of payment has which none can object; it is a kind of renot arrived, and when made the payment is adjustment to which every man in this in accordance therewith. It is just as if State may give his heart and energies as

Fellow-citizens, I am not so blind as not

I see, too, that the financial embarrassment which pervades this whole country is willing to pay about \$20,000,000, he con- thing-until the settlement is made and the seriously affecting our people-the value of tents himself with making the debt \$40,- money paid to Virginia. When that is done their products is diminished—the demand is not equal to the supply—the volume of currency, instead of being \$45 to the inhabincome, as taken by assessors, a little over He declares the intention of the party not | necessity and the propriety of a compromise Government (and he has ridiculed the idea complished. I believe it would have been of retrenchment and economy), to provide accomplished last winter but for the madfor the schools and eleemosynary institu- ness of the forcible readjusters, who deteryou, and so to shape legislation as to make promptly and honestly to meet four per cent. interest on her debt. This she can

.. \$1,231,162 84

on \$600,000; allow now....... Your schools should have..... required, and amply sufficient with proper

economy to run your State government. Now, your net revenue has been averaging over \$2,505,000 per annum. It was that deny that it applies to them. They last year without the Moffett register, and with the register cannot fall below \$2,700,-000. You will then have a margin of over demns Mississippi's repudiation. In a \$248,000 for additional expenses in the govspeech in the Senate last winter he con- ernment; or if not needed there, to defray demned it, and said that Virginia's case the over-due interest. But the gentleman was no parallel to Mississippi, because Mis- has found grievous fault with the Moffett register. He says it stops the mouths of cate lessons of temperance into the minds while Virginia is deprived of territory and of hearers and pupils; that it makes them property and is laboring under the financial | teach their congregations to drink at the grog-shop that the State debt may be paid. Fellow-citizens, the trouble with Colonel repudiation than Virginia now has, and yet | Fulkerson is not that it stops the mouths of not even a foreible readjuster undertakes to preachers, and teachers, and temperance defend Mississippi. She did not repudiate lecturers. The trouble is this-the register is yielding tax at the rate of \$262,000 per

why the Colonel don't like it. But let us come to the question: Is it right to force our creditors to take less than vive the flush times of 1835 and '36; it was the fair value of their bonds until every efwhen there was no money in circulation ex- fort has been made to pay them, or, at least, cept bank notes, which might be received to compromise with their consent? Let us one day at par and the next be found value- consider this question as it affects us-as it affects the people of Southwest Virginia. and property to pay it. We have invested rings-of the Ninth congressional district. was made." Let us see what benefit we have derived paying, and what property we have to pay

well-stocked farms who could hardly get more than one half of it was spent in this money enough to pay the postage on a let- section (by the Southwest I mean the coun- sent? ter. They had scarcely any currency, and ties composing the Ninth congressional most of that which they had was bad. * * district and the counties of Floyd, Carroll, A deep gloom settled upon men's minds. and Grayson); it was built as the outlet for that section; it carried all the produce, and all the freights, and all the passengers of and maybe lost, I would say credit. No that section; it has opened up your water- politician has been wild enough to pretend any rise in prices. It carries a bushel of amend the Constitution and cancel the bonds, or, if they prefer keeping up the schools and find the amount derived there from lessens the tax necessary to support the schools, it matters not whether the money is paid to the Literary Fund and by to schools, or directly t

amount which the creditor may be forced | ties in the Ninth district average only \$2.52. The six counties on the railroad are assessed

\$3,000,000 00 103,438 69 Biack Lick and Plaster-Bank.
L. Estellyille.
Estellyills and Nukelsyille.
Jacksonsyille and Christiansburg.
Jacksonsyille and Christiansburg.
Jacksonsyille and Christiansburg.
Mechanicsburg and Wytho.
Pulaski and Glies,
Raleigh and Grayson
Russell and Washington.
Russell and Washington.
Russell and Courthouse and Abingdon. don alem and Papper's Ferry.... myth Courthouse and Plaster-Bank azeweil Courthouse and Fancy Gap. azeweil Courthouse and Saitville... ytheville and Grayson..... Wythe.... Price's and Cumberland Gap..... North Carolina and Wytheville.... Fazewell Courthouse and Richlands..

A grand total of..... The annual interest on this sum is \$230,-008.10. Now how much of this are we pay ing? It has been asked, If the delegates and senators from Southwest Virginia had known while the debt was being created and the roads built that Eastern Virginia negroes would be freed and relieved from taxation, and that the Southwest Virginia pay the debt, would they have voted for it? In the first place, Eastern Virginia negroes, by the Constitution of this State, only paid a capitation tax which could not exceed the pay anything. They now pay almost or quite as much on their heads and property as was then paid on them. In the next place, the act of April 9, 1838, in express terms, declared that the faith of the State property to pay the debt. So property was pledged in the beginning. But to the real point: Is Southwest Virginia bearing the burden of the taxation? Is she paying more than she has received value for? Is she paying enough taxes to meet the interest on the money spent for her direct ben-

Capitation and On realty. personalty. congress'l dis't ass'd \$106,397 92 \$66,990 45—\$27,226 35

11.643 00 10,621 46- 3.474 07 \$77,611 85 \$30,700 42

Making a total of .. \$226.353 19

assessed in Southwest Virginia. This makes no allowance for delinquents and insolvents, none for costs of collection. Deduct these amounts estimated by the Finance Committee of the House of Delegates at last session at eight per cent .- \$18,108.25-leaves a net revenue from Southwest Virginia of \$208,-244.94, which is less by \$21,763.15 than the annual interest on the amount expended for your immediate benefit. Of the amount so paid you get back for schools, \$48,622.07; for criminal expenses

in your counties over \$19,158.71; and the

members of the Legislature from these coun-

These three sources bring right back to your other. But, before bringing them to the in which he said: "If I had an archangel's Then comes your fair proportion of the other expenses of the government, when you will find that you have a very small balance to your credit to be applied to the interest on the debt. You have about one seventh of the population and nearly one strings and Union leagues was organized it sixth of the territory; charge yourselves met in convention in the city of Richmond, with one eighth of the expenses of the government, which at the Auditor's estimen whose utterances were made in open mate is \$134,125; add to this the school fund you receive, and it makes \$182,747 which you receive the benefit of; take this It was upon a plan adopted by representafrom \$208,244.94 paid by you, and there is tives elected by the people, and made left \$25,497 to be applied to the public debt. What have we to pay with? What are our resources ?- I mean in Southwest Virginia. We have 6,110,922 acres of land, which beneath a warm sun and in a mild climate produces in abundance all staples and many of the luxuries of life; within its breast lie untold quantities of iron, coal, lead, plaster, and salt; in the fields roam the finest and fattest of cattle and horses. These lands are assessed (and who sells land at its assessed value) at \$23,217.- honorable work. You all know this. You sells land at its assessed value) at \$23,217.- honorable work. You all know this. You sells land at its assessed value) at \$23,217.- honorable work. You all know this. You sells land at its assessed value) at \$23,217.- honorable work. You all know this. You sells land at its assessed value) at \$23,217.- honorable work. You all know this. You sells land at its assessed value) at \$23,217.- honorable work. You all know this. You sells land at its assessed value) at \$23,217.- honorable work. You all know this. You sells land at its assessed value at \$23,217.- honorable work. You all know this. You sells land at its assessed value at \$23,217.- honorable work. You all know this work is a sells land at its assessed value at \$23,217.- honorable work is a sells land at its assessed value at \$23,217.- honorable work is a sells land at its assessed value at \$23,217.- honorable work is a sells land at its assessed value at \$23,217.- honorable work is a sell land at its assessed value at \$23,217.- honorable work is a sell land at its assessed value at \$23,217.- honorable work is a sell land at its assessed value at \$23,217.- honorable work is a sell land at its assessed value at \$23,217.- honorable work is a sell land at its assessed value at \$23,217.- honorable work is a sell land at its assessed value at \$23,217.- honorable work is a sell land at its assessed value at \$23,217.- honorable work is a sell land at its assessed value at \$23,217.- honorable work is a sell land at its assessed value at \$23,217.- honorable work is a sell land at its assessed value at \$23,217.- honorable work is a sell land at its assessed value at \$23,217.- honorable work is a sell land at its assessed value at \$23,217.- honorable work is a sell land at its assessed value at \$23,217.- honorable work is a sell land at its assessed value at \$23,217.- honorable work is a sell land at its assessed value at \$23,217.- honorable work is a sell land at its assessed valu ing this property are 222,290 people-222,-290 people, with \$31,380,989 worth of pro- tive party. You know when the con- any recorded in history. She came out perty, seriously considering a proposition to repudiate a debt upon which they have not But do you know there are two county without a currency, without any organized been paying over \$25,497.94 a year, or less than 111 cents a head. What a spectacle! is an organization to be as full and perfect citizens reduced to hopeless insolvency and Look at her when, with a smaller population (for her population has increased considerably since 1865), there sprung from her bosom at her country's call 7,000 volunteers, dress one another only in "confidential honest endeavor on the part of her reprewho risked their property and lives in defence of her honor. Look at her when four years her women labored, her men suffered in her armies, the enemy ravaged much of hossession of it for personal ends; to take believe it will still be done, and payments her territory, the impressing officer carried away her horses and cattle, and the tax- from constable to delegate in the Assem- farthing is paid." preachers and teachers who would incul- gatherer took a tithe of all her produce as the annual levy. During that period, like a hero, the city of Richmond about the first of May she stood, feeling all the pain, but uttering no murmur, no word of faltering. Look at ferent parts of the State. Colonel F. was that future and then look at her to-day, when all is peace, when every man is at his home, cowering, whimpering, at the thoughts of when public speakers sneer at that honor nor when in the full tide of prosperity. Annum; it is furnishing the means of getting that followed the failure of the United leasing other taxes for the support of govort 1861 and 1865? Where is the fortitude that endured the winters' camps, the muddy trenches, the frozen bivouac, the bloody fields of the east, the scorching suns, and withering fire of Chickamauga and Powder stituency; professing to be in attendance on Charleston—said: "The inviolability of Spring? You, sir, sneer at honor, but the the Federal Court; giving no advertise- contracts and the duty of performing them soul in you pays its homage to the days of ments of their purposes or of ther meeting. as made are foundations of all well-ordered her sufferings and her fortitude?

Is it expedient to do so? If I were asked that means. But the communication was minds than the solemn declarations of Jetto name one thing without which it is impossible for a State to prosper, and without in secret. By chance I heard something of highest position in the gift of the people? to prevent much loss of credit, means, and which her very existence must be imperilled, that a government should accumulate large amounts of money in its treasury to be held there to meet unforeseen contingencies of failure of revenue, war or insurrection, disorder of any kind. Such a fund would and sent me a copy, which I will now read. or forcibly readjust the State debt? In 1841 be a source of corruption. It would be If you don't pronounce it the most wonder- the Government of the United States had that much capital withdrawn from circula- ful mixture of opposing elements-the most no debt. It had all been discharged tion and from the business of the country, cold-blooded effort to pack a convention- in 1834. Yet there was not enough money which of itself would make it a source of the most deliberate effort to destroy and in the Treasury to pay the members of Condiscontent and oppression. There is no betray the Conservative party, and the most gress their per diem, or to meet the ordinagovernment, national or State, that is so ill-timed and underhanded way of deal- ry expenses of the Government. Congress well managed or happily situated that it ing with important questions that you authorized a loan of \$5,000,000 in 1842, and does not at times need extraordinary can raise as tax-gatherer. Domestic in- Abraham and his dealings with the sons of sippi had repudiated, Pennsylvania, Mary-

or the bridges, or your roads may be deyour condition? How far advanced in civilization-bow far acquainted with the prowould you reap from the great improveuseful machinery? You would be as un- to private affairs that honesty is the best couth as the Esquimaux and as ignorant as policy." the Indian.

Look at Eastern Kentucky, an isolated never seen a four-wheeled wagon until the army came.

in Virginia, to Sabersville, in Kentucky, a honest payment of our debts and sacred pre-distance considerably over one hundred servation of the public faith." miles. In all that distance there was no "They should be the creed of our political painted house, no brick chimney, and no faith, the text of civic instructions." How shingle-roof, except one, which was within different this last expression sounds from seven miles of Sabersville. Will any one the doctrine of free schools supported by say that roads-railroads-opening commu- forcible readjusters, "the touchstone by nication with the world are of no benefit? Is any man who thinks seriously and rea- (Mark the difference between this sentence sons deliberately and fairly so far dementlands would have to bear the burden and ed as to say it is expedient for a State, be- caucus.) cause of present trouble, to forfeit and deface with the terms?

> of bearing her burdens justify such action? without better cause than you now have, ests, but have prostituted your virtue at the and wars to bridle others." sacrifice of your interests." A bond issued tle of a particular color take one of them | things? without compensation, a howl of indignayou are hurt, in taking the bonds somebody to bring a few of the "honor-shrickers,"

When the great Conservative party of Virginia that released her from the thraldom of Radicalism and the grip of redday, and who did nothing to be concealed. Then it organized throughout the State. known to the people. The State Committee, composed of men whose names were published in every Conservative paper in the Commonwealth, issued their adlicity. County superintendents were appointed, whose names and duties were made known to all. They appointed their know the platform of the Conservasuperintendents in this county; that there bly? Yet such is the case! There met in there. The leader of the forcibles was They met in no public hall; no newspaper district indicates the nature of the work. At Abingdon on the 30th day of May last, it is, cannot have an uncertain sound."

In a room of the Colonade Hotel, there Justice Strong, of the Supreme Court of were met persons from thirteen counties of the United States, in a case decided in Oc-Now, fellow-citizens, we have gotten the the political managers-as Governor McMul- turbance of these foundations was one of ereditors' money. We have pledged faith lin sometimes expresses it, political kings and the great objects for which the Constitution it so that it yields a permanent as well as immediate benefit. We are reaping the pointed a county chairman or superintendbenefits now, and our children after us will ants; they adopted a platform; they issued reap benefits from it, both in the increased an address to a few that were to aid them outweigh that of Washington as he retires value of property and the advantages de- in their designs. But that address, that from office with no ambition but to see his Tennessee railroad were certainly made di-rectly for the benefit of Southwest Virginia; world. Is it right to deprive our creditors were not intended for the public eye or the speeches of congressional aspirants hangof any part of their dues without their con- public ear. No, they intended to manipu- ing for official honors and emoluments carry him four days to find a man who admitted | duty? that he had one, but at last he found one

Hable for over fifteen millions, which we call | repudiation I know not what it is. Forci | the railroad counties' lands average \$8.22 | lums, penitentiary, or State-house may be | Lic credit. One method of preserving it is | road; but where is the money to come burned. Here at home your court-house, to use it as sparingly as possible, avoiding or the bridges, or your roads may be de-reasons of expense. * * The execustroyed. In all these cases money must be tion of these maxims belongs to your repat \$14,239,866.96; the nine counties off the had, and it must be had in larger quantities resentatives, but it is necessary that public railroad at \$6,666,852.57—the former averthan the tax-gatherer can raise at one time. opinion should cooperate to facilitate to age three and a quarter times as much as the Without it ruin must come, Government them the performance of their duty. It is latter. Your wealth in land has been in- will be overrun, law trampled under foot, essential that you should practically bear in creased 325 per cent, by the money expend- authority cease, and anarchy with all its mind that towards the payment of debts Carroll, and Grayson average \$2.73 per to be gotten? It must be borrowed. When there must be taxes; that no taxes are dereal value of credit is ascertained. Without nient and unpleasant." . . "It will credit how could your railroads or turn- be worthy of a free day, a great nation, to pikes have been built? Without a railroad give to mankind the magnanimous and too or a turnpike in the State what would be novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence."

"Can it be that providence has not gress of the world—how much advantage connected the permanent felicity of a nation would you reap from the great improve with its virtue?" * "I hold the ments and discoveries in labor-saving or maxim no less applicable to public than

> There was another old-fashioned gentleman to whose opinions Democrats, when section, without railroad or turnpike, yet not in secret caucus, are sometimes disposed General Floyd says that when he first went son-twice President of the United States. there with his army in 1861 or 1862 he was In his first inaugural so much of an honortold by a woman of sprightly mind, who shricker was he that he laid down as among "the supremacy of the civic over the military authority, economy in public expenses,

which to try the services of those we trust." and the second resolution of the Colonade

In his second inaugural this same idea stroy her credit, to stop her ability to keep seems to be in his mind, for he says: "We are firmly convinced, and we act on that conviction, that with nations as with indi-Can aught but the absolute impossibility viduals our interests, soundly calculated, When you resort to forcible readjustment, will ever be found inseparable from our moral duties, and history bears witness to you will find, when too late, that you have the fact that a just nation is trusted on its State is sovereign, one legislature can't imnot "sacrificed your virtue to your inter- word when recourse is had to armaments

James Madison, in his inaugural, says: by the State is property; you tax it as pro-perty; if stolen the thief is punished as for to observe economy in public expenditures, stolen property. If the State should send to liberate public resources by an 'honoraits agents throughout the country, and ble discharge of the public debt." Ain't whenever a man had two horses or two cat- that a curious, old-fashioned way of doing

Alexander Hamilton, President Washingtion would be heard from the Chesapeake ton's Secretary of the Treasury, in a report bay to the Cumberland mountains-yes, the | made to the House of Representatives, Janpeople would rise up in arms and fight away | uary 9, 1790, says: "While the observance the men who were thus confiscating their of that good faith which is the basis of property. What is the difference in princi- public credit is recommended by the strong-What is the difference, as a matter of est inducements of political expediency, it right, between taking one half of a man's is enforced by considerations of still greater horses and taking away one half of his authority. There are arguments for it border, if there were one hundred men in the mind is disposed to contemplate, each county holding State bonds, this ques- in the order of Providence, an intion of forcible readjustment would be seen timate connection between public virin exactly the light that confiscation of pro- tue and public happiness will be its reperty is seen. The only difference between the two is that in taking houses and cattle ples." "A wise nation will never permit those who relieve the wants of their counelse is hurt. Will you, as a people, stand try, or who rely most on its faith, its firmup and say that it is even expedient to in- ness, and its resources, when either of them jure a fellow-man in a way you would not is disturbed, to suffer by the event." Henry submit to be injured by him? Despite the A. Wise, when appointed a Minister of the sneering at honesty, despite the loud ac- United States Government to Brazil in claim against the "honor-shrickers," by the February, 1844, at the time when repudiagentleman who has preceded me, I intend tion was lifting its head in several States, also at a time when the United States Govwho advocated the benefits of honesty, to ernment could not borrow five millions of this stand and let them speak to these peo- money in all Europe, when a money-strinple. Then let the people judge for them- gency greater than the present was over the selves between those I bring on the one whole land, issued an address to the people ties have been receiving \$13,000 per annum. hand and Colonel Abram Fulkerson on the of the district he represented in Congress, free school, Tax yourselves! For what?

"1. To pay your public-school debt. "2. To educate your children, every child of them, at common primary free schools at State charge.

"Disbelieve any set of men who come before you with false promises of freedom from taxation. Listen truly to those sincere friends who will honestly tell you that you must be taxed, how much you ought to be taxed, and who will counsel freely and fully with you beforehand as to the mode and subjects of taxation. In a word, learn plishing such objects as those of paying the public debt and of educating your children, rich and poor." Judge Staples, now living, aids, and called township and county meet- and honored by all, even by the forcible reings, so that all might know what was adjusters, in his celebrated opinion in Andone. All were engaged in a good and toni vs. Wright, said: "Upon this question of public faith I will say this, that for four the burden of a conflict as great as ventions meet what is to be done, of the struggle prostrate and bleeding, system of labor, with vast numbers of her as the Conservative organization ever was, ruin. For years after was she kept in subwhich was begotten in a secret caucus of jection to military power, and yet her staself-constituted representatives; that ad- tutes exhibit the gratifying spectacle of an communications"; that is plotting to pack | sentatives, while still under the shadow of possession of every office in your county be made from time to time until the last

Again, in March 11st, in the case of Clarke vs. Commonwealth (another coupon case), a number of forcible readjusters from dif- Judge Staples said: "I concur with Judge Christian, when he said in the homestead there. Mr. Meade, of Winchester, was case, 'The inviolability of contracts, public and private, is the foundation of all social there, and many lesser lights were there. progress, and the corner-stone of all forms
They met in no public hall; no newspaper of society wherever enlightened jurisprupaying \$30,000 on her debt, and applauding has given us an account of their actions; dence prevails. Good faith is essential in the gentlemen present have vouchsafed no States as well as individuals; neither can be account thereof; but an occurrence in this just or permanently prosperous without it.' Upon that subject my own voice, feeble as

These persons constituted themselves into society, and to prevent the removal or dis-

Fellow-citizens, have all these sayings no weight with you? Do the addresses issued late the public, to control the district by greater conviction to your hearts and marked "confidential," and was to be kept | ferson and Madison when elevated to the it, and wrote to a gentleman at the western | Are they better authority or from purer end near the headquarters of the district fountains than the words of Hamilton, chairman, telling him of the address and Wise, Staples, and Strong-all of whom asking him to procure me a copy. He was wrote in cool moments, with no other am- like an eagle renewing its mighty youthwhat Colonel F. calls a funder. It took bition to gratify than the performance of

Again, I ask is it expedient to repudiate have ever seen, I shall be disappointed. the bonds of the United States were offered Were I to go to the Scriptures I might bring in every exchange in Europe; but Missiscredit of these States impaired, but of all which the mineral drugs of the pharmacopæia often Let General Washington speak. After his long service of his country, in war and in States could borrow \$5,000,000—all because have since received such frequent and positive con-

borrowed \$500,000 to erect the Washington monument. Virginia gave her bonds for it, and those bonds are now unpaid; they are part and parcel of the debt that is to die under the razor of forcible readjustment. ed in the railroad. The counties of Floyd, evils prevail in the land. How is the money there must be revenue, that to have revenue With what grace, with what hope of success, with what reason to expect success. the application is made for a loan then the vised which are not more or less inconve- can a people who are attempting to repudiate debts already contracted in building roads or erecting monuments, go to those whom she is wronging and ask a loan of more? What would be your answer of an individual who had just deprived you of half of a just debt should be ask to create another with you? You would kick him for his impudence and despise him for his meanness. But can you forcibly readjust the coupon debt? Have you the power? How will you do it? We are told that a convention must be called, and we can do it then-overthrow the Governor, overturn the Court of Appeals, pack it with Joe abounding in many sources of wealth. to pay some regard—one Thomas Jeffer- Bradleys, put them in to render a decision the way the appointing power wants it. not as the law may be; teach the people that courts are only to be respected was over thirty years old, that she had the essential principles of Government when their opinions suit those who should obey them, overthrow every fixed opinion and principle of society and government -In 1862 I travelled from Wise Courthouse, that labor may be lightly burdened; the | do all these things, and you will certainly get an opinion from a so-calldd Virginian court that will nullify the coupons. But will the case stop there? Is there no tribunal above the Virginia Court of Appeals, and above the reach of a Virginia convention? There is; and before that tribunal the question must and will come, before that tribunal similar questions have been tried and determined time and time again. and always against the State or county that raised it. The Supreme Court of the United States has invariably held that the State is as much prohibited from violating the obligations of a contract as is an individual. The State of New Jersey made a contract with the Indians exempting certain lands from taxation; after the Indians sold it the State attempted to tax it; the cry was the pair the sovereignty by releasing the right of taxation, and the State Court of Appeals so decided; but to the United States Supreme Court the question in case of Wrenn us. New Jersey went, and with Chief-Justice Marshall delivering the opinion that court said to the State : "You have made

from? Colonel F. says borrow it from the

United States Government. Fellow-citi-

zens, when Mr. Fillmore was President we

your contract, and we will enforce it." The State of Arkansas established a bank in 1836, and declared that the notes should be received in payment of all debts due the State. In 1845 her Legislature repealed this clause and refused to receive the notes for taxes, and she too had a time-serving Court of Appeals which refused to enforce the contract. It was the same cry of sovereign power, which one Legislature could not surrender or barter; yet in the case of bonds of a particular kind? If the which rest on the immutable principles of Woodruff Trapuali the question went to the bonds of the State were all held within her moral obligations. And in proportion as Supreme Court of the United States, and the tax-collector was forced to take the notes and the State drawn to a compliance with her contracts.

The State of Tennessee esaablished a bank

and issued notes similar to those of Arkansas; and she, too, afterwards refused to receive them-her Court of Appeals was subservient to the Legislature or forcible readjusters; but in the case of Furman va. Nicholls the Supreme Court compelled her to receive the notes and perform her contract. In the last three years the city of Charleston, in South Carolina, has attempted to reduce the rate of interest on her bonds by taxing it two per cent, on the amount of principal; but the same Supreme Court of the United States has said she must comply with her contract and pay full interest. In delivering the opinion of the Court on the case (Murray & Jenken vs. City of Charleston) Justice Strong says doors over \$80,000 of the amount you pay; stand, I will refer to a matter that has re- trump, the blast of which could startle all "A change of the expressed stipulations of cently occurred in this district, that you the living of the world, I would snatch it at a contract or a relief of a debtor from stri may compare that act with what these wit- this moment, and sound it in the ears of all and literal compliance with its requirementthe people of the debtor States, and of the can no more be effected by an exertion of States which have a solitary 'poor, un- the taxing power than it can be by the exwashed and uncombed' child untaught at a ertion of any other power of a State legislature. The constitutional provision against impairing contract obligations is a limitation upon the taxing power as well as upon all legislation, whatever form it may assume (Virginia Law Journal, May, 1878, p. 267). * * The truth is States and cities when they borrow money and contract to repay it with interest are not acting as sovereignties. They come down to the level of ordinary individuals; their contracts have the same meaning as that of smaller contracts between private persons. * "There is no more important provision in dresses, which were given with equal pub- to love taxation as the only means of accom- the Federal Constitution than the one which prohibits States from passing laws impair-

ing the obligations of contracts, and it is

one of the highest duties of this Court to

take care the prohibition shall neither be

evaded nor filtered away." Can any res

sonable man in the face of these decisions

contend for a moment that the Suprem-

compel Virginia to receive her coupons?

But they say "these decisions are against the acts of the legislatures. We will have a convention, and by an ordinance of the people in convention assembled, or by a solemi clause in the Constitution, we will annuthese cursed coupons." The question of the States-once in the case of Dodge vs. Woolsey, 18 How., 334, from the State of Ohio. taxed in excess of the rate provided in its White, 13 Wallace, p. -, from Georgia where a clause in the Constitution of that State prohibited a judgment on a debt contracted for a slave. This Court said a State could not, by legislative enactment nor by means, impair the obligations of contracts. Then what good will a convention do you It will cost you \$150,000 or \$200,000; it will overthrow and destroy the confidence which has been reposed in the decisions of your courts; it will destroy the respect paid to your highest tribunals; it will still further increase the corruption now existing among the people in regard to payment of debts it will make judges of men who will sell their opinions for place; it will prevent for two or three years the receipt of coupons for taxes; it will drag the State before the Supreme Court of the United States, there to be compelled, at the voice of one she must obey, to do what she should have done of her own free will. In debasing and degrading submission to orders, she must do what if voluntarily done would have been comes there will be an accumulation of coucourt delayed a final decision, and kept the matter from the higher tribunal; and all this accumulation will come upon you at once. What then will you do? Fellowcitizens, have this question answered before you commit yourselves to this fatal policy.

gazing with undazzled eye at the midday beam, purging and inscribing her vision at the heavenly fountain, while the tamed birds of her evil destiny flutter in the twilight, amazed at what she means. BLINDLY GROPING for some mediwhich should take the place of the heady and frewere electrified on first observing the reviving ef-fects upon the system of a tonic then recently inlar medicine sold on this continent--viz., Hostetter's Stomach Bitters. Their astonishment and admiration were increased when experience farther disclosed that this botanic remedy effected results

Sirs, the time must come-it may be too late

honor, but come it will-when this State

will arise like a strong man from his sleep,

and, shaking his invincible locks, will be

utterly failed to produce, among others the perm

nent restoration of vigor, the removal of digestive. secretive, and evacuative irregularities, and the eradication and prevention of periodic fevers. Speedy recognition of the merits of the Ditters by unprejudiced and enlightened physicians naturally

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